

David De Micheli, Bolsonaro and the Black Vote: Lessons from Brazil's 2018 Election. *Latin American Politics and Society* vol. 65, no. 4 (Winter 2023).

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	First Round (vs. Lula)					Second Round (vs. Lula)	
	Serra	Garotinho	Gomes	Maria	Blank/Null	Serra	Blank/Null
Brown ID	-0.289 (0.180)	0.133 (0.233)	0.0375 (0.260)	0.367 (0.955)	-0.451 (0.340)	-0.219 (0.150)	-0.523 (0.327)
Black ID	-0.0231 (0.219)	0.133 (0.268)	-0.822 (0.503)	0.574 (1.059)	-1.179* (0.560)	0.364+ (0.196)	-0.511 (0.465)
Primary	0.0939 (0.219)	0.303 (0.272)	0.172 (0.332)	1.024 (1.339)	0.165 (0.422)	0.142 (0.189)	-0.378 (0.445)
High School	0.224 (0.214)	0.436+ (0.248)	0.384 (0.315)	-13.02* (0.908)	0.294 (0.440)	0.220 (0.176)	-0.242 (0.420)
University	0.239 (0.260)	-0.222 (0.349)	0.987* (0.377)	2.699* (1.223)	-0.343 (0.628)	-0.0856 (0.225)	-0.0602 (0.493)
Age	0.0123* (0.00543)	0.00312 (0.00741)	0.00956 (0.00737)	0.0297 (0.0475)	0.00232 (0.00938)	0.00906* (0.00456)	0.00222 (0.00950)
Female	0.128 (0.151)	0.000723 (0.197)	0.103 (0.220)	0.183 (1.117)	0.0530 (0.312)	0.258* (0.131)	-0.183 (0.286)
Northeast	-0.952* (0.272)	0.254 (0.371)	0.375 (0.399)	0.170 (0.360)	-0.263 (0.594)	-0.781* (0.241)	-0.398 (0.523)
Southeast	-0.429+ (0.235)	0.121 (0.309)	-0.343 (0.376)	14.04* (0.947)	-0.132 (0.513)	-0.356+ (0.209)	-0.199 (0.452)
South	-0.396 (0.282)	0.224 (0.371)	-0.564 (0.457)	14.51* (0.998)	-0.448 (0.619)	-0.186 (0.250)	-0.801 (0.663)
Income	0.0406 (0.0690)	0.0678 (0.0866)	0.189+ (0.114)	0.150 (0.436)	-0.208 (0.132)	0.140* (0.0608)	-0.0323 (0.119)
PT	-2.419* (0.266)	-1.741* (0.336)	-2.018* (0.392)	-1.294 (1.479)	-2.196* (0.515)	-2.173* (0.248)	-1.809* (0.512)
PSDB	2.346* (0.420)	1.582* (0.524)	1.604* (0.543)	-13.50* (1.271)	0.384 (0.830)	2.103* (0.328)	-0.150 (0.801)
MDB	0.673* (0.315)	-0.412 (0.568)	0.389 (0.535)	-13.27* (1.290)	-15.09* (0.289)	0.671* (0.292)	-1.158 (1.032)
Other	-0.0621 (0.230)	0.343 (0.274)	0.395 (0.361)	-13.66* (0.771)	-0.808 (0.645)	0.0190 (0.205)	-0.491 (0.469)
Evangelical	0.215 (0.264)	2.868* (0.222)	-0.0186 (0.412)	1.255 (0.968)	-0.306 (0.574)	0.379* (0.181)	0.174 (0.377)
Other	-0.221 (0.244)	0.581+ (0.315)	-0.496 (0.372)	-14.01* (1.147)	0.858* (0.356)	-0.161 (0.214)	0.805* (0.383)
None	17.69* (1.042)	0.999* (0.335)	-0.797* (0.394)	-1.599+ (0.947)	-0.197 (0.612)	12.33* (1.031)	-0.431 (0.493)
Constant	-0.719+ (0.424)	-2.628* (0.619)	-2.647* (0.715)	-21.67* (1.735)	-1.441+ (0.819)	-1.240* (0.370)	-1.934* (0.799)
N	1755					1752	
AIC	4066.7					2456.8	

Table A1. Multinomial Logit Estimates of Vote Choice, 2002. Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$.

	First Round (vs. Lula)			Second Round (vs. Lula)	
	Alckmin	Other	Blank_Null	Blank_Null	Serra
Brown ID	-0.455* (0.0620)	-0.0816 (0.114)	-0.157 (0.104)	-0.183 (0.160)	-0.437* (0.0589)
Black ID	-0.765* (0.0876)	-0.0403 (0.148)	-0.00677 (0.133)	-0.0127 (0.215)	-0.708* (0.0826)
Primary	0.270* (0.0775)	0.584* (0.164)	-0.0123 (0.130)	0.687* (0.229)	0.267* (0.0748)
High School	0.353* (0.0761)	0.858* (0.151)	0.198 (0.129)	1.227* (0.218)	0.340* (0.0724)
University	0.526* (0.103)	1.543* (0.180)	0.149 (0.172)	1.305* (0.262)	0.484* (0.0967)
Age	-0.00909 (0.0213)	-0.0760* (0.0375)	-0.0890* (0.0400)	0.0480 (0.0540)	0.0238 (0.0204)
Female	0.324* (0.0550)	-0.00262 (0.0982)	-0.0160 (0.0934)	0.148 (0.142)	0.290* (0.0522)
Northeast	-0.767* (0.0917)	-0.276 (0.183)	-0.433* (0.169)	-0.917* (0.293)	-0.674* (0.0884)
Southeast	-0.0627 (0.0817)	0.272+ (0.162)	0.336* (0.145)	0.416+ (0.222)	-0.0359 (0.0783)
South	0.214* (0.0928)	0.536* (0.186)	0.420* (0.164)	0.406 (0.253)	0.254* (0.0887)
Income	0.142* (0.0245)	0.173* (0.0384)	0.0534 (0.0430)	0.0562 (0.0559)	0.132* (0.0231)
Constant	-0.547* (0.136)	-2.993* (0.274)	-1.749* (0.243)	-4.164* (0.387)	-0.808* (0.132)
N	11302			11187	
AIC	23247.9			16515.2	

Table A2. Multinomial Logit Estimates of Vote Choice, 2006. Standard errors in parentheses.

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

	First Round (vs. Rousseff)				Second Round (vs. Rousseff)	
	Serra	Silva	Other	Blank/Null	Serra	Blank/Null
Brown ID	-0.210* (0.0867)	-0.0799 (0.103)	0.119 (0.276)	-0.0875 (0.133)	-0.246* (0.0776)	-0.134 (0.157)
Black ID	-0.347* (0.118)	-0.0563 (0.136)	-0.530 (0.461)	-0.176 (0.178)	-0.324* (0.105)	-0.209 (0.212)
Primary	0.178+ (0.107)	0.331* (0.139)	-0.137 (0.398)	-0.0406 (0.164)	0.120 (0.0972)	0.271 (0.203)
High School	0.0964 (0.111)	0.725* (0.133)	0.402 (0.354)	-0.143 (0.171)	0.0398 (0.0993)	0.286 (0.204)
University	0.291* (0.136)	1.116* (0.155)	0.485 (0.417)	-0.256 (0.227)	0.274* (0.120)	0.284 (0.246)
Age	0.00128 (0.00276)	-0.00667+ (0.00342)	-0.0138 (0.00963)	-0.00144 (0.00427)	-0.00166 (0.00248)	-0.00399 (0.00517)
Female	0.0835 (0.0754)	0.272* (0.0898)	0.137 (0.243)	-0.122 (0.117)	0.139* (0.0675)	0.197 (0.138)
Northeast	-0.271* (0.124)	-0.110 (0.146)	-0.418 (0.400)	0.0601 (0.212)	-0.147 (0.109)	0.392 (0.283)
Southeast	0.120 (0.116)	0.193 (0.135)	-0.0261 (0.359)	0.611* (0.197)	0.130 (0.103)	1.048* (0.258)
South	0.426* (0.136)	-0.258 (0.176)	0.140 (0.437)	0.109 (0.247)	0.389* (0.123)	0.645* (0.307)
Income	0.122* (0.0456)	0.189* (0.0526)	0.176 (0.140)	0.0567 (0.0711)	0.103* (0.0406)	0.143+ (0.0816)
PT	-2.618* (0.138)	-1.496* (0.120)	-1.126* (0.349)	-1.519* (0.157)	-2.387* (0.108)	-2.508* (0.265)
PSDB	2.471* (0.220)	0.932* (0.280)	1.548* (0.571)	0.673+ (0.362)	2.514* (0.226)	-1.453 (1.027)
MDB	0.769* (0.155)	0.238 (0.215)	0.612 (0.543)	-0.346 (0.332)	0.617* (0.144)	-0.104 (0.346)
Other	0.109 (0.145)	0.800* (0.148)	1.503* (0.313)	-0.606* (0.295)	0.106 (0.118)	-0.285 (0.247)
CESOP 2718	-0.117 (0.0740)	-0.167+ (0.0877)	-0.733* (0.252)	0.0111 (0.115)	-0.255* (0.0664)	-0.00900 (0.135)
Evangelical	0.306* (0.0959)	1.134* (0.105)	0.575+ (0.301)	0.0161 (0.162)	0.331* (0.0838)	0.148 (0.184)
Other	0.289 (0.203)	0.681* (0.218)	0.861+ (0.505)	0.968* (0.248)	0.196 (0.181)	1.178* (0.257)
None	0.0135 (0.119)	0.544* (0.132)	0.558+ (0.336)	0.289+ (0.169)	0.113 (0.104)	0.648* (0.185)
Constant	-0.624* (0.218)	-1.973* (0.265)	-3.431* (0.707)	-1.760* (0.347)	-0.194 (0.195)	-3.148* (0.437)
N	5222				5122	
AIC	11391.4				7250.6	

Table A3. Multinomial Logit Estimates of Vote Choice, 2010. Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$.

	First Round (vs. Rousseff)				Second Round (vs. Rousseff)	
	Neves	Silva	Other	Blank/Null	Neves	Blank/Null
Brown ID	-0.299* (0.140)	0.170 (0.185)	-0.453 (0.376)	-0.0270 (0.246)	-0.243+ (0.132)	0.0653 (0.249)
Black ID	-0.683* (0.204)	0.116 (0.256)	0.00719 (0.530)	-0.540 (0.372)	-0.426* (0.186)	-0.628 (0.398)
Primary	0.0969 (0.242)	1.011* (0.431)	0.492 (0.727)	1.111+ (0.586)	0.135 (0.220)	1.456* (0.680)
High School	0.267 (0.265)	1.460* (0.457)	0.114 (0.808)	1.032 (0.628)	0.282 (0.242)	0.993 (0.723)
University	0.260 (0.282)	1.590* (0.483)	0.744 (0.749)	1.333* (0.656)	0.448+ (0.260)	1.797* (0.751)
Age	-0.000590 (0.00445)	0.00262 (0.00582)	-0.0323* (0.0153)	-0.00278 (0.00751)	0.00545 (0.00418)	0.00708 (0.00755)
Female	0.114 (0.125)	0.196 (0.169)	0.279 (0.344)	-0.191 (0.209)	0.0121 (0.116)	-0.364+ (0.220)
Northeast	-1.115* (0.229)	0.888* (0.321)	-0.536 (0.794)	0.0442 (0.529)	-0.636* (0.206)	0.154 (0.616)
Southeast	-0.00604 (0.192)	0.901* (0.307)	0.665 (0.644)	1.177* (0.460)	0.238 (0.180)	1.659* (0.541)
South	0.303 (0.242)	0.148 (0.419)	0.0536 (0.831)	1.012+ (0.532)	0.421+ (0.229)	1.043 (0.641)
Income	0.372* (0.0756)	0.251* (0.0965)	0.119 (0.164)	-0.0353 (0.130)	0.249* (0.0694)	-0.00478 (0.131)
PT	-2.707* (0.259)	-1.761* (0.282)	-1.847* (0.772)	-3.288* (0.617)	-3.113* (0.288)	-3.764* (0.778)
PSDB	2.837* (0.350)	1.896* (0.413)	2.236* (0.745)	0.621 (0.711)	2.682* (0.301)	0.422 (0.782)
MDB	1.055* (0.327)	0.888* (0.388)	-0.493 (1.076)	-0.368 (0.747)	0.825* (0.303)	-1.266+ (0.761)
Other	-0.0506 (0.372)	0.219 (0.398)	2.540* (0.497)	-0.364 (0.668)	0.121 (0.299)	0.0813 (0.570)
Evangelical	0.0721 (0.159)	1.120* (0.184)	1.004* (0.429)	0.324 (0.266)	0.262+ (0.141)	0.387 (0.281)
Other	0.414 (0.287)	0.0235 (0.448)	1.419* (0.621)	1.110* (0.388)	0.291 (0.270)	1.206* (0.376)
None	0.0432 (0.238)	0.188 (0.318)	1.306* (0.507)	0.930* (0.305)	0.136 (0.216)	1.103* (0.312)
Constant	-1.063* (0.428)	-4.427* (0.658)	-3.472* (1.301)	-3.415* (0.957)	-1.248* (0.403)	-4.770* (1.120)
N	2138				2133	
AIC	3494.5				2309.1	

Table A4. Multinomial Logit Estimates of Vote Choice, 2014. Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$.

	(1)					(2)				
	Haddad	Gomes	Alckmin	Other	Blank/Spoil	Haddad	Gomes	Alckmin	Other	Blank/Spoil
Brown ID x Primary						-0.205 (0.360)	-0.0298 (0.501)	0.241 (0.526)	-0.477 (0.536)	0.203 (0.464)
Brown ID x High School						0.253 (0.311)	-0.137 (0.414)	-0.639 (0.455)	-0.172 (0.438)	0.410 (0.380)
Brown ID x University						-0.0720 (0.342)	0.169 (0.405)	-0.162 (0.502)	-0.590 (0.429)	0.0428 (0.439)
Black ID x Primary						-0.201 (0.504)	0.301 (0.693)	0.0309 (0.692)	1.276+ (0.666)	0.640 (0.586)
Black ID x High School						0.585 (0.414)	1.079+ (0.554)	0.165 (0.626)	1.032+ (0.547)	0.913+ (0.489)
Black ID x University						1.062* (0.440)	1.237* (0.556)	-0.106 (0.743)	0.797 (0.546)	0.418 (0.586)
Brown ID	0.156 (0.123)	0.0208 (0.126)	-0.232 (0.188)	-0.0730 (0.133)	0.107 (0.151)	0.119 (0.237)	-0.0212 (0.364)	-0.0800 (0.345)	0.298 (0.378)	-0.0713 (0.303)
Black ID	0.776* (0.165)	0.448* (0.162)	0.449+ (0.251)	0.0831 (0.182)	0.563* (0.188)	0.413 (0.321)	-0.415 (0.497)	0.353 (0.469)	-0.724 (0.453)	0.0178 (0.393)
Primary	-0.290 (0.177)	-0.0526 (0.236)	-0.0488 (0.253)	-0.0651 (0.248)	-0.131 (0.217)	-0.152 (0.263)	-0.0881 (0.374)	-0.170 (0.387)	-0.0813 (0.388)	-0.334 (0.349)
High School	-0.616* (0.159)	0.0883 (0.197)	-0.813* (0.234)	-0.0690 (0.215)	-0.373* (0.188)	-0.837* (0.233)	-0.0201 (0.302)	-0.613* (0.311)	-0.141 (0.328)	-0.703* (0.273)
University	-0.777* (0.179)	0.674* (0.213)	-0.960* (0.283)	0.307 (0.230)	-0.586* (0.258)	-0.915* (0.245)	0.416 (0.304)	-0.880* (0.371)	0.431 (0.324)	-0.667+ (0.347)
Anti-PT Proxy	-2.660* (0.746)	-1.008* (0.297)	-0.440 (0.305)	0.207 (0.217)	-2.632* (0.512)	-2.631* (0.744)	-0.996* (0.298)	-0.421 (0.300)	0.208 (0.217)	-2.631* (0.512)
Age	0.00214 (0.00378)	-0.0279* (0.00394)	-0.00092 (0.00592)	-0.0200* (0.00429)	-0.0141* (0.00483)	0.00201 (0.00380)	-0.0279* (0.00395)	-0.00087 (0.00591)	-0.0201* (0.00432)	-0.0137* (0.00489)
Female	0.586* (0.110)	0.690* (0.113)	0.551* (0.172)	0.552* (0.125)	0.515* (0.129)	0.585* (0.110)	0.690* (0.113)	0.564* (0.171)	0.542* (0.125)	0.511* (0.129)
Income	-0.154* (0.0316)	-0.0316 (0.0316)	-0.0776 (0.0316)	-0.0234 (0.0316)	-0.325* (0.0316)	-0.155* (0.0316)	-0.0280 (0.0316)	-0.0791 (0.0316)	-0.0248 (0.0316)	-0.323* (0.0316)

	(0.0482)	(0.0478)	(0.0718)	(0.0523)	(0.0687)	(0.0479)	(0.0478)	(0.0726)	(0.0526)	(0.0695)
Evangelical	-0.780*	-0.963*	-0.686*	-0.258+	-0.469*	-0.792*	-0.967*	-0.681*	-0.255+	-0.476*
	(0.131)	(0.138)	(0.198)	(0.139)	(0.153)	(0.132)	(0.138)	(0.200)	(0.140)	(0.154)
Other religion	0.122	0.183	-0.223	-0.190	0.315	0.133	0.174	-0.226	-0.180	0.319
	(0.200)	(0.179)	(0.362)	(0.221)	(0.237)	(0.200)	(0.180)	(0.359)	(0.222)	(0.237)
No religion	0.651*	0.586*	0.555	0.504*	0.507*	0.656*	0.594*	0.541	0.505*	0.517*
	(0.219)	(0.175)	(0.353)	(0.211)	(0.243)	(0.220)	(0.175)	(0.352)	(0.212)	(0.244)
Northeast	1.230*	1.489*	0.634+	1.181*	1.032*	1.244*	1.500*	0.648+	1.161*	1.021*
	(0.184)	(0.196)	(0.360)	(0.258)	(0.271)	(0.184)	(0.197)	(0.363)	(0.256)	(0.273)
Southeast	0.119	0.524*	0.929*	0.941*	0.849*	0.117	0.518*	0.931*	0.920*	0.841*
	(0.154)	(0.157)	(0.289)	(0.198)	(0.218)	(0.154)	(0.157)	(0.293)	(0.198)	(0.218)
South	-0.117	0.332	-0.233	0.798*	0.555+	-0.113	0.328	-0.217	0.794*	0.552+
	(0.224)	(0.226)	(0.442)	(0.269)	(0.292)	(0.224)	(0.225)	(0.440)	(0.270)	(0.294)
PT	4.346*	2.521*	2.403*	1.889*	0.786*	4.357*	2.510*	2.388*	1.870*	0.779*
	(0.200)	(0.220)	(0.297)	(0.261)	(0.294)	(0.200)	(0.220)	(0.295)	(0.260)	(0.295)
PSDB	-0.451	-0.348	2.100*	0.201	-0.250	-0.467	-0.362	2.089*	0.172	-0.259
	(0.474)	(0.347)	(0.242)	(0.348)	(0.399)	(0.477)	(0.349)	(0.242)	(0.348)	(0.402)
MDB	0.359	0.709+	1.120*	-0.0328	0.208	0.358	0.705+	1.123*	-0.0463	0.177
	(0.328)	(0.380)	(0.424)	(0.514)	(0.451)	(0.324)	(0.374)	(0.427)	(0.516)	(0.449)
PSL	-3.607*	-2.574*	-2.247*	-2.598*	-3.268*	-3.600*	-2.580*	-2.244*	-2.617*	-3.289*
	(0.813)	(0.356)	(0.551)	(0.509)	(0.624)	(0.822)	(0.359)	(0.552)	(0.503)	(0.624)
Other Partisan	0.460*	0.586*	0.413	0.992*	-1.666*	0.479*	0.585*	0.411	0.999*	-1.662*
	(0.197)	(0.178)	(0.333)	(0.166)	(0.486)	(0.196)	(0.178)	(0.332)	(0.166)	(0.487)
Mun. Pop. 50k-200k	-0.397*	0.255	-0.228	-0.143	0.257	-0.392*	0.256	-0.237	-0.136	0.260
	(0.156)	(0.167)	(0.243)	(0.198)	(0.202)	(0.156)	(0.166)	(0.244)	(0.199)	(0.203)
Mun. Pop. 200k-500k	-0.531*	0.165	-0.180	0.205	0.157	-0.538*	0.164	-0.199	0.221	0.166
	(0.189)	(0.192)	(0.270)	(0.211)	(0.230)	(0.189)	(0.192)	(0.266)	(0.211)	(0.231)
Mun. Pop. > 500k	-0.399+	0.436*	-0.242	0.194	0.638*	-0.422*	0.426*	-0.244	0.185	0.634*
	(0.214)	(0.207)	(0.287)	(0.252)	(0.255)	(0.215)	(0.208)	(0.287)	(0.252)	(0.256)
Metro area	-0.180	-0.0590	0.134	-0.110	0.324+	-0.188	-0.0679	0.140	-0.106	0.325+

(vs. capital)	(0.198)	(0.180)	(0.262)	(0.216)	(0.195)	(0.198)	(0.182)	(0.262)	(0.215)	(0.196)
Interior (vs. capital)	-0.273 (0.213)	-0.0905 (0.195)	0.0768 (0.290)	-0.392 ⁺ (0.238)	0.0407 (0.245)	-0.296 (0.214)	-0.101 (0.197)	0.0784 (0.290)	-0.398 ⁺ (0.236)	0.0339 (0.246)
Constant	-0.831* (0.358)	-1.440* (0.365)	-2.565* (0.564)	-1.907* (0.430)	-1.422* (0.473)	-0.730* (0.367)	-1.272* (0.412)	-2.616* (0.591)	-1.925* (0.493)	-1.265* (0.482)
N	7,293				7,293					
Chi-squared	1841.6				1905.4					

Table A5: Multinomial Logit Estimates of First Round Vote Choice, 2018. ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$. Standard errors in parentheses. All estimates computed relative to Bolsonaro support.

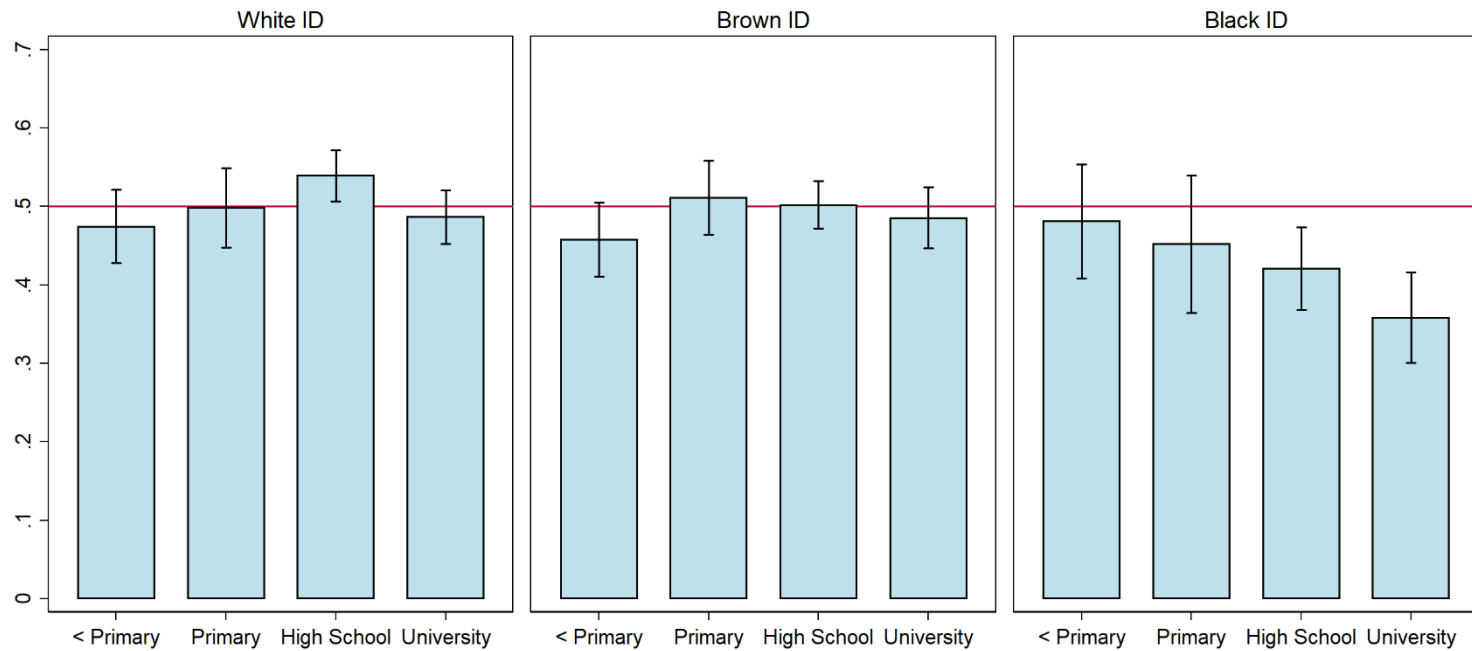


Figure A1: Predicted Probabilities of First-Round Conservative Candidate Support by Racial ID and Education. Conservative support computed as combined support for Bolsonaro and Alckmin.

	(1)		(2)	
	Haddad	Blank/Spoil	Haddad	Blank/Spoil
Brown ID x Primary			0.0831 (0.327)	0.617 (0.419)
Brown ID x High School			0.331 (0.279)	0.616 ⁺ (0.352)
Brown ID x University			0.172 (0.275)	0.240 (0.368)
Black ID x Primary			0.0505 (0.415)	0.330 (0.550)
Black ID x High School			0.534 (0.348)	0.996* (0.454)
Black ID x University			0.309 (0.349)	0.204 (0.488)
Brown ID	0.123 (0.103)	0.0372 (0.118)	-0.0469 (0.214)	-0.353 (0.302)
Black ID	0.790* (0.130)	0.523* (0.154)	0.530* (0.270)	0.0394 (0.392)
Primary	-0.426* (0.155)	0.237 (0.197)	-0.462 ⁺ (0.238)	-0.0784 (0.304)
High School	-0.698* (0.138)	0.398* (0.170)	-0.923* (0.201)	-0.0155 (0.251)
University	-0.251 ⁺ (0.148)	0.469* (0.206)	-0.374 ⁺ (0.195)	0.332 (0.279)
Anti-PT Proxy	-17.53* (0.190)	-3.316* (0.448)	-18.28* (0.193)	-3.313* (0.447)
Age	-0.0116* (0.00310)	-0.00765* (0.00376)	-0.0115* (0.00310)	-0.00722 ⁺ (0.00379)
Female	0.655* (0.0925)	0.759* (0.109)	0.652* (0.0925)	0.762* (0.109)
Income	-0.0847* (0.0375)	-0.221* (0.0482)	-0.0844* (0.0375)	-0.221* (0.0485)
Evangelical	-0.833* (0.113)	-0.643* (0.124)	-0.837* (0.113)	-0.647* (0.124)
Other religion	0.250 (0.152)	-0.0579 (0.192)	0.256 ⁺ (0.152)	-0.0534 (0.192)
No religion	0.925* (0.164)	0.670* (0.199)	0.939* (0.164)	0.690* (0.200)

Northeast	1.147* (0.170)	1.016* (0.207)	1.146* (0.170)	1.022* (0.207)
Southeast	0.399* (0.139)	0.675* (0.169)	0.396* (0.139)	0.675* (0.169)
South	0.195 (0.190)	0.119 (0.245)	0.189 (0.189)	0.118 (0.245)
PT	3.862* (0.169)	0.945* (0.244)	3.862* (0.169)	0.936* (0.244)
PSDB	-0.343 (0.297)	-0.281 (0.254)	-0.343 (0.298)	-0.286 (0.254)
MDB	0.153 (0.281)	-0.0200 (0.401)	0.136 (0.279)	-0.0670 (0.404)
PSL	-5.137* (0.727)	-4.732* (0.742)	-5.151* (0.728)	-4.772* (0.744)
Other Partisan	0.530* (0.136)	-0.356 (0.216)	0.531* (0.136)	-0.356+ (0.216)
Mun. Pop. 50k-200k	-0.233+ (0.136)	0.0226 (0.171)	-0.232+ (0.135)	0.0232 (0.172)
Mun. Pop. 200k-500k	-0.197 (0.153)	-0.146 (0.187)	-0.193 (0.153)	-0.149 (0.188)
Mun. Pop. > 500k	0.154 (0.173)	0.289 (0.212)	0.152 (0.173)	0.284 (0.212)
Metro area (vs. capital)	-0.0221 (0.155)	0.191 (0.170)	-0.0209 (0.155)	0.199 (0.169)
Interior (vs. capital)	-0.0330 (0.170)	-0.346+ (0.202)	-0.0359 (0.170)	-0.344+ (0.202)
Constant	-0.705* (0.294)	-1.767* (0.365)	-0.594+ (0.306)	-1.563* (0.390)
N	7524	7524	7524	7524
Chi-squared	9638.6	9638.6	10253.5	10253.5

Table A6: Multinomial Logit Estimates of Second Round Vote Choice, 2018. Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$. All estimates computed relative to Bolsonaro support.

	Northeast Only					Excluding Northeast				
	Haddad	Gomes	Alckmin	Other	Blank/Spoil	Haddad	Gomes	Alckmin	Other	Blank/Spoil
Brown ID x Primary	-0.464 (1.096)	0.663 (1.337)	-0.0528 (1.933)	-1.168 (1.692)	-1.072 (1.459)	0.00388 (0.403)	-0.325 (0.560)	0.119 (0.533)	-0.261 (0.558)	0.486 (0.489)
Brown ID x High School	0.693 (0.969)	0.515 (1.048)	-15.89* (1.612)	1.613 (1.467)	-0.0992 (1.374)	0.226 (0.338)	-0.223 (0.462)	-0.422 (0.460)	-0.482 (0.462)	0.555 (0.388)
Brown ID x University	0.756 (0.979)	1.864+ (0.998)	0.263 (2.099)	17.67* (1.213)	-0.706 (1.468)	0.124 (0.358)	-0.101 (0.456)	-0.0555 (0.499)	-0.607 (0.450)	0.392 (0.444)
Black ID x Primary	-0.355 (1.291)	1.872 (1.778)	-0.385 (2.126)	17.02* (1.660)	0.0928 (1.892)	0.0661 (0.566)	-0.382 (0.722)	-0.00656 (0.699)	0.459 (0.765)	0.895 (0.607)
Black ID x High School	1.465 (1.188)	3.581* (1.529)	1.562 (1.789)	18.57* (1.597)	2.630 (1.789)	0.728 (0.473)	0.371 (0.596)	0.0485 (0.674)	0.430 (0.554)	0.606 (0.495)
Black ID x University	3.585* (1.298)	4.757* (1.621)	-14.55* (2.452)	35.25* (1.721)	2.321 (2.147)	0.861+ (0.495)	0.561 (0.593)	0.0626 (0.772)	0.263 (0.544)	0.218 (0.570)
Brown ID	-0.577 (0.740)	-1.068 (0.853)	-0.550 (1.356)	-0.386 (1.065)	0.131 (1.037)	0.167 (0.259)	0.221 (0.412)	-0.0732 (0.348)	0.302 (0.401)	-0.197 (0.316)
Black ID	-0.111 (0.859)	-2.250+ (1.300)	0.410 (1.446)	-16.75* (0.990)	-0.930 (1.438)	0.270 (0.375)	0.196 (0.535)	0.192 (0.505)	-0.325 (0.460)	0.153 (0.400)
Primary	0.210 (0.945)	-0.291 (1.159)	0.587 (1.804)	-0.428 (1.348)	1.327 (1.246)	-0.277 (0.301)	0.129 (0.424)	-0.254 (0.382)	0.00318 (0.401)	-0.656+ (0.372)
High School	-1.241 (0.840)	-0.457 (0.859)	-1.003 (1.448)	-2.129 (1.351)	0.0399 (1.165)	-0.794* (0.243)	0.0837 (0.352)	-0.560+ (0.311)	0.0942 (0.339)	-0.863* (0.277)
University	-1.999* (0.847)	-0.678 (0.857)	-1.430 (2.002)	-19.13* (1.089)	0.197 (1.212)	-0.849* (0.257)	0.516 (0.355)	-0.898* (0.370)	0.800* (0.330)	-0.933* (0.355)
Anti-PT Proxy	-1.503 (1.374)	-0.717 (0.930)	-17.12* (1.183)	-1.407 (1.126)	-17.78* (0.810)	-3.566* (0.702)	-1.059* (0.306)	-0.353 (0.296)	0.247 (0.220)	-2.505* (0.512)
Age	0.00203 (0.00936)	-0.00669 (0.00993)	0.00802 (0.0206)	-0.0436* (0.0169)	0.00606 (0.0141)	0.00476 (0.00425)	-0.0364* (0.00427)	-0.00134 (0.00602)	-0.0162* (0.00423)	-0.0181* (0.00493)
Female	1.173* (0.295)	0.887* (0.295)	1.645* (0.684)	1.610* (0.431)	0.971* (0.375)	0.437* (0.117)	0.758* (0.121)	0.389* (0.168)	0.334* (0.128)	0.435* (0.133)
Income	-0.390* (0.295)	-0.384* (0.295)	-0.158 (0.684)	0.101 (0.431)	-0.715* (0.375)	-0.106* (0.117)	0.0592 (0.121)	-0.0598 (0.168)	-0.0410 (0.128)	-0.263* (0.133)

	(0.138)	(0.146)	(0.313)	(0.205)	(0.243)	(0.0492)	(0.0504)	(0.0718)	(0.0513)	(0.0721)
Evangelical	-1.671*	-1.551*	-1.979*	-0.929*	-0.843*	-0.510*	-0.827*	-0.472*	-0.142	-0.443*
	(0.319)	(0.332)	(0.884)	(0.427)	(0.422)	(0.144)	(0.148)	(0.196)	(0.145)	(0.159)
Other religion	0.513	-0.681	-16.16*	-0.476	-0.274	0.0380	0.320+	-0.188	-0.145	0.399+
	(0.617)	(0.717)	(0.853)	(1.101)	(1.132)	(0.216)	(0.178)	(0.355)	(0.216)	(0.238)
No religion	-0.124	-0.521	1.435	0.182	-0.279	0.855*	0.833*	0.109	0.502*	0.614*
	(0.601)	(0.542)	(0.941)	(0.761)	(0.751)	(0.209)	(0.172)	(0.371)	(0.208)	(0.253)
PT	4.646*	3.038*	3.493*	1.814*	0.834	4.374*	2.304*	2.064*	1.883*	0.788*
	(0.719)	(0.727)	(0.894)	(0.836)	(1.015)	(0.202)	(0.226)	(0.317)	(0.266)	(0.289)
PSDB	-0.418	-1.139	1.423	0.813	-0.548	-0.601	-0.230	2.123*	-0.0333	-0.258
	(1.011)	(1.075)	(1.187)	(0.868)	(1.233)	(0.544)	(0.345)	(0.240)	(0.382)	(0.399)
MDB	0.294	0.537	-16.21*	-0.418	0.283	0.439	0.876*	1.268*	-0.171	0.163
	(0.782)	(0.856)	(1.006)	(1.180)	(1.137)	(0.344)	(0.434)	(0.429)	(0.547)	(0.481)
PSL	-2.840*	-2.859*	-17.15*	-18.58*	-19.15*	-4.769*	-2.510*	-2.093*	-2.361*	-3.056*
	(1.033)	(1.084)	(0.717)	(0.436)	(0.497)	(0.870)	(0.345)	(0.552)	(0.506)	(0.611)
Other Partisan	0.758+	0.224	0.815	1.002+	-17.00*	0.286	0.723*	0.260	1.020*	-1.389*
	(0.421)	(0.463)	(0.950)	(0.590)	(0.410)	(0.229)	(0.174)	(0.340)	(0.167)	(0.487)
Mun. Pop. 50k-200k	-0.0777	0.689+	-0.101	-0.930	0.221	-0.479*	0.0815	-0.256	-0.0933	0.285
	(0.362)	(0.364)	(0.688)	(0.709)	(0.512)	(0.176)	(0.197)	(0.248)	(0.206)	(0.220)
Mun. Pop. 200k-500k	-0.261	-0.130	-0.616	0.776	-0.0366	-0.606*	0.311	-0.124	0.0305	0.195
	(0.533)	(0.582)	(0.962)	(0.736)	(0.876)	(0.208)	(0.210)	(0.282)	(0.218)	(0.234)
Mun. Pop. > 500k	-0.678	-0.0952	-0.148	0.923	0.0581	-0.461*	0.529*	-0.280	0.0434	0.659*
	(0.731)	(0.815)	(1.263)	(0.804)	(1.064)	(0.229)	(0.223)	(0.283)	(0.258)	(0.263)
Metro area (vs. capital)	-0.907	-0.752	0.0716	0.443	-0.880	-0.144	-0.0776	0.105	-0.188	0.499*
	(0.753)	(0.835)	(1.721)	(0.839)	(0.978)	(0.203)	(0.181)	(0.255)	(0.217)	(0.194)
Interior (vs. capital)	-0.348	-0.286	1.481	0.185	-0.772	-0.410+	-0.184	-0.157	-0.433+	0.125
	(0.773)	(0.844)	(1.548)	(0.839)	(1.095)	(0.222)	(0.201)	(0.284)	(0.244)	(0.247)
Southeast						0.113	0.503*	0.935*	0.918*	0.812*
						(0.158)	(0.159)	(0.292)	(0.196)	(0.218)
South						-0.0551	0.378	-0.172	0.729*	0.532+

						(0.231)	(0.230)	(0.443)	(0.269)	(0.291)
Constant	1.642 (1.038)	1.245 (1.138)	-3.503 (2.546)	0.179 (1.420)	0.0673 (1.576)	-0.943* (0.412)	-1.431* (0.448)	-2.404* (0.595)	-2.021* (0.498)	-1.160* (0.487)
N						707				
Chi-squared						18817.5				
						6,586				
						1890.7				

Table A7: Replication of Model 2 in Table A5 with Regional Subsamples. ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$. Standard errors in parentheses. All estimates computed relative to Bolsonaro support.

	Northeast Only		Excluding Northeast	
	Haddad	Blank/Spoil	Haddad	Blank/Spoil
Brown ID x Primary	1.022 (0.826)	1.120 (1.146)	-0.237 (0.362)	0.518 (0.435)
Brown ID x High School	1.631* (0.832)	0.839 (1.095)	-0.106 (0.297)	0.515 (0.358)
Brown ID x University	1.131 (0.755)	0.695 (1.052)	0.103 (0.288)	0.0616 (0.380)
Black ID x Primary	0.916 (1.035)	0.884 (1.669)	-0.198 (0.463)	0.240 (0.547)
Black ID x High School	2.021+ (1.042)	2.799+ (1.544)	0.407 (0.383)	0.506 (0.461)
Black ID x University	1.629+ (0.931)	0.227 (1.917)	0.159 (0.381)	0.127 (0.486)
Brown ID	-0.756 (0.563)	-0.676 (0.864)	0.160 (0.228)	-0.263 (0.312)
Black ID	0.0934 (0.643)	-0.802 (1.240)	0.530+ (0.304)	0.302 (0.396)
Primary	-0.533 (0.676)	0.273 (0.880)	-0.474+ (0.263)	-0.169 (0.316)
High School	-1.571* (0.691)	0.396 (0.863)	-0.825* (0.212)	-0.0827 (0.258)
University	-1.221+ (0.625)	0.603 (0.879)	-0.278 (0.206)	0.226 (0.288)
Anti-PT Proxy	-16.75* (0.496)	-16.70* (0.588)	-18.08* (0.210)	-3.146* (0.445)
Age	-0.00303 (0.00824)	-0.00789 (0.0115)	-0.0147* (0.00330)	-0.00547 (0.00380)
Female	1.159* (0.244)	1.460* (0.325)	0.515* (0.0973)	0.584* (0.110)
Income	-0.136 (0.113)	-0.506* (0.160)	-0.0762+ (0.0389)	-0.164* (0.0499)
Evangelical	-1.343* (0.275)	-0.889* (0.332)	-0.657* (0.122)	-0.596* (0.127)
Other religion	0.431 (0.593)	-0.654 (0.862)	0.236 (0.158)	0.0718 (0.190)
No religion	-0.0201 (0.512)	-0.807 (0.669)	1.097* (0.155)	0.943* (0.201)
PT	3.488* (0.420)	0.665 (0.593)	4.035* (0.174)	0.966* (0.244)
PSDB	-0.417 (0.809)	-16.43* (0.496)	-0.369 (0.314)	-0.0397 (0.246)

MDB	0.464 (0.595)	-0.449 (1.101)	0.108 (0.318)	0.0504 (0.421)
PSL	-16.72* (0.330)	-17.52* (0.464)	-4.830* (0.727)	-4.475* (0.742)
Other Partisan	0.234 (0.340)	-0.501 (0.529)	0.663* (0.139)	-0.309 (0.224)
Mun. Pop. 50k-200k	-0.0697 (0.305)	0.0347 (0.435)	-0.292+ (0.152)	-0.0466 (0.184)
Mun. Pop. 200k-500k	0.128 (0.470)	-0.167 (0.651)	-0.221 (0.167)	-0.188 (0.197)
Mun. Pop. > 500k	-0.372 (0.633)	0.753 (0.760)	0.191 (0.184)	0.105 (0.218)
Metro area (vs. capital)	-0.833 (0.629)	-0.421 (0.802)	-0.00999 (0.157)	0.328* (0.166)
Interior (vs. capital)	-0.507 (0.660)	-0.529 (0.766)	-0.0748 (0.176)	-0.304 (0.207)
Southeast			0.392* (0.142)	0.630* (0.168)
South			0.211 (0.194)	0.0302 (0.240)
Constant	1.086 (0.825)	-0.419 (1.176)	-0.518 (0.328)	-1.566* (0.400)
N	705		6819	
Chi-squared	6832.7		8699.7	

Table A8: Replication of Model 2 in Table A6 with Regional Subsamples. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$. Standard errors in parentheses. All estimates computed relative to Bolsonaro support.

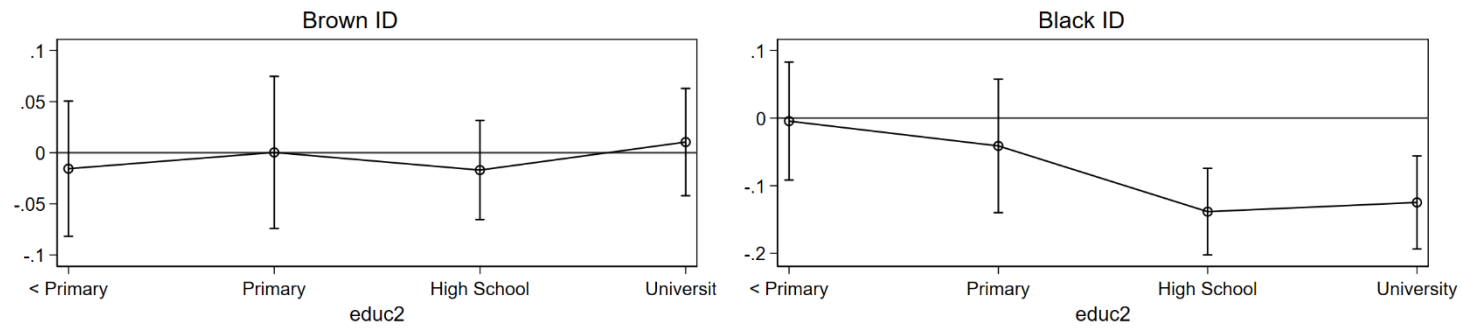
	First Round					Second Round	
	Haddad	Gomes	Alckmin	Other	Blank/Spoil	Haddad	Blank/Spoil
Brown ID x Primary	-0.204 (0.362)	-0.0130 (0.510)	0.239 (0.533)	-0.488 (0.539)	0.180 (0.466)	0.0821 (0.327)	0.611 (0.420)
Brown ID x High School	0.232 (0.312)	-0.203 (0.419)	-0.639 (0.458)	-0.145 (0.439)	0.367 (0.382)	0.328 (0.279)	0.601+ (0.353)
Brown ID x University	-0.105 (0.343)	0.0998 (0.410)	-0.296 (0.510)	-0.614 (0.431)	-0.0110 (0.441)	0.174 (0.275)	0.233 (0.368)
Black ID x Primary	-0.204 (0.495)	0.278 (0.695)	0.0388 (0.691)	1.091 (0.666)	0.479 (0.578)	0.0515 (0.415)	0.326 (0.551)
Black ID x High School	0.697+ (0.411)	1.128* (0.558)	0.262 (0.628)	1.149* (0.547)	0.965* (0.491)	0.540 (0.349)	0.998* (0.455)
Black ID x University	1.115* (0.436)	1.211* (0.558)	-0.0871 (0.743)	0.808 (0.546)	0.410 (0.587)	0.287 (0.348)	0.187 (0.489)
Brown ID	0.135 (0.238)	0.0185 (0.368)	-0.0703 (0.346)	0.305 (0.378)	-0.0399 (0.305)	-0.0452 (0.214)	-0.345 (0.303)
Black ID	0.343 (0.315)	-0.422 (0.497)	0.317 (0.467)	-0.753+ (0.451)	0.00885 (0.392)	0.531* (0.270)	0.0467 (0.393)
Primary	-0.152 (0.263)	-0.0993 (0.382)	-0.185 (0.392)	-0.0732 (0.389)	-0.299 (0.350)	-0.461+ (0.238)	-0.0686 (0.304)
High School	-0.824* (0.234)	0.0221 (0.306)	-0.603+ (0.313)	-0.159 (0.329)	-0.655* (0.275)	-0.921* (0.201)	-0.00451 (0.252)
University	-0.895* (0.246)	0.468 (0.308)	-0.849* (0.373)	0.453 (0.325)	-0.601+ (0.348)	-0.375+ (0.195)	0.343 (0.280)
Anti-PT Proxy	-2.654* (0.744)	-1.203* (0.313)	-0.548+ (0.314)	0.190 (0.219)	-2.643* (0.513)	-18.77* (0.193)	-3.313* (0.447)
Age	0.00201 (0.00381)	-0.0281* (0.00400)	-0.0000885 (0.00599)	-0.0192* (0.00433)	-0.0132* (0.00488)	-0.0115* (0.00310)	-0.00712+ (0.00379)
Female	0.593* (0.110)	0.696* (0.115)	0.579* (0.173)	0.535* (0.126)	0.522* (0.130)	0.653* (0.0926)	0.767* (0.109)
Income	-0.155* (0.110)	-0.0283 (0.115)	-0.0784 (0.173)	-0.0199 (0.126)	-0.334* (0.130)	-0.0852* (0.0926)	-0.223* (0.109)

	(0.0482)	(0.0485)	(0.0739)	(0.0532)	(0.0703)	(0.0376)	(0.0486)
Evangelical	-0.774* (0.132)	-0.942* (0.140)	-0.675* (0.202)	-0.219 (0.140)	-0.456* (0.154)	-0.836* (0.113)	-0.652* (0.124)
Other religion	0.150 (0.201)	0.207 (0.183)	-0.197 (0.360)	-0.149 (0.223)	0.313 (0.239)	0.260+ (0.153)	-0.0518 (0.193)
No religion	0.715* (0.224)	0.667* (0.181)	0.624+ (0.357)	0.574* (0.217)	0.582* (0.247)	0.947* (0.165)	0.698* (0.201)
Northeast	1.239* (0.185)	1.491* (0.200)	0.643+ (0.365)	1.167* (0.258)	1.027* (0.274)	1.147* (0.170)	1.024* (0.207)
Southeast	0.0979 (0.155)	0.479* (0.159)	0.885* (0.295)	0.882* (0.199)	0.818* (0.219)	0.392* (0.139)	0.672* (0.170)
South	-0.121 (0.225)	0.321 (0.228)	-0.235 (0.442)	0.754* (0.273)	0.552+ (0.295)	0.190 (0.190)	0.118 (0.246)
PT	4.355* (0.200)	2.505* (0.220)	2.383* (0.295)	1.875* (0.260)	0.782* (0.294)	3.862* (0.169)	0.936* (0.244)
PSDB	-0.461 (0.477)	-0.350 (0.350)	2.101* (0.243)	0.172 (0.348)	-0.251 (0.402)	-0.342 (0.298)	-0.284 (0.254)
MDB	0.356 (0.324)	0.705+ (0.376)	1.116* (0.428)	-0.0591 (0.514)	0.178 (0.449)	0.136 (0.279)	-0.0655 (0.404)
Other Partisan	0.477* (0.196)	0.579* (0.180)	0.414 (0.332)	0.993* (0.166)	-1.659* (0.487)	0.531* (0.136)	-0.356 (0.217)
Mun. Pop. 50k-200k	-0.418* (0.156)	0.249 (0.168)	-0.264 (0.247)	-0.170 (0.200)	0.250 (0.204)	-0.228+ (0.136)	0.0257 (0.172)
Mun. Pop. 200k-500k	-0.552* (0.190)	0.155 (0.195)	-0.197 (0.268)	0.181 (0.213)	0.159 (0.232)	-0.185 (0.153)	-0.145 (0.188)
Mun. Pop. > 500k	-0.439* (0.215)	0.430* (0.211)	-0.235 (0.291)	0.204 (0.248)	0.601* (0.253)	0.158 (0.173)	0.279 (0.213)
Metro area (vs. capital)	-0.180 (0.199)	-0.0618 (0.185)	0.182 (0.265)	-0.0460 (0.210)	0.312 (0.197)	-0.0245 (0.155)	0.189 (0.170)
Interior	-0.299	-0.0802	0.104	-0.344	0.00131	-0.0303	-0.348+

(vs. capital)	(0.214)	(0.200)	(0.294)	(0.231)	(0.244)	(0.170)	(0.203)
Constant	-0.724*	-1.294*	-2.659*	-2.000*	-1.268*	-0.602*	-1.567*
	(0.368)	(0.417)	(0.598)	(0.491)	(0.486)	(0.306)	(0.392)
N	6654			6858			
Chi-squared	1749.8			10644.6			

Table A9: Replicating Tables A5 and A6 without PSL Partisans

First Round



Second Round

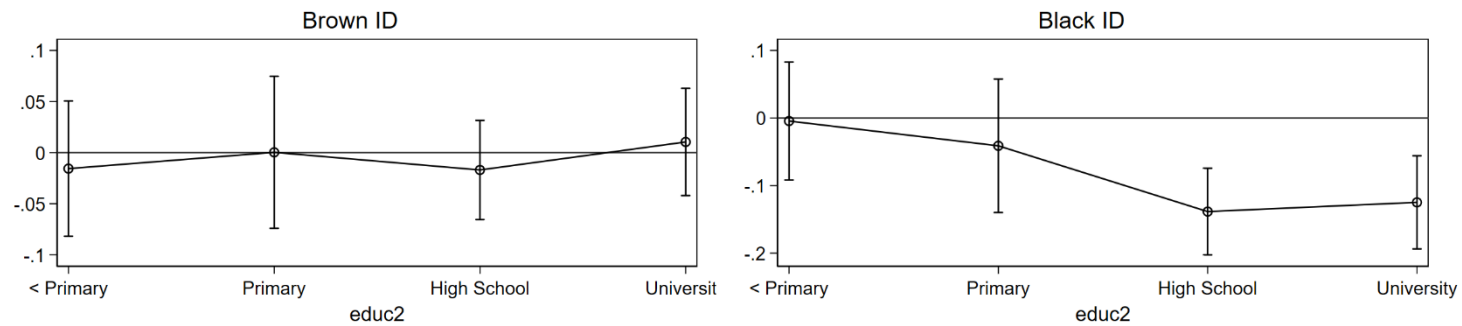


Figure A2 Replication of Figure 5 without PSL Partisans